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THE WAR RECORD
OF
HORATIO SEYMOUR,

AND

Pennsylvania's Share of the Public Debt.

Secretary Stanton to Gen. Sanford.
[By Telegraph from Washington.]

June 16, 1863.

To Major General Sanford:

The Government will be glad to have your city regiments hasten to Pennsylvania for any term of service; it is not possible to say how long they may be useful, but it is not expected that they would be detained more than three (3) months, possibly not more than twenty (20) or thirty (30) days.

They would be accepted for three (3) months, and discharged as soon as the present exigency is over. If aided at the present by your troops, the people of that State might soon be able to raise a sufficient force to relieve your city regiments.

EDWIN M. STANTON,
Secretary of War.

Governor Seymour's Adjutant to Secretary Stanton.

ALBANY, June 18, 1863.

To Hon. E. M. Stanton, Secretary of War, Washington, D. C.

About twelve thousand (12,000) men are now on the move for Harrisburg, in good spirits and well equipped.

The Governor says: "Shall troops continue to be forwarded?" Please answer.

JOHN T. SPRAGUE,
Adjutant General.

Governor Seymour's Adjutant to the Governor of Pennsylvania.

ALBANY, June 18, 1863.

To Governor Curtin, Harrisburg, Pa.:

About twelve thousand men are now moving, and are under orders for Harrisburg, in good spirits and well equipped.

Governor Seymour desires to know if he shall continue to send men. He is ignorant of your real condition.

JOHN T. SPRAGUE,
Adjutant General.

Secretary Stanton to Governor Seymour's Adjutant.

(By Telegraph.)

WASHINGTON, June 19, 1863.

To Adjutant General Sprague:

THE PRESIDENT DIRECTS ME TO RETURN HIS THANKS TO HIS EXCELLENCY GOVERNOR SEYMOUR AND HIS STAFF, FOR THEIR ENERGETIC AND PROMPT ACTION. Whether any further force is likely to be required will be communicated to you to-morrow, by which time

it is expected the movements of the enemy will be more fully developed.

EDWIN M. STANTON,
Secretary of War.

Governor Seymour's Adjutant to Secretary Stanton.

ALBANY, June 20, 1863.

Hon. E. M. Stanton, Secretary of War, Washington:

The Governor desires to be informed if he shall continue sending on the militia regiments from this State. If so, to what extent, and to what point?

J. B. STONEHOUSE,
Acting Assistant Adjutant General.

Secretary Stanton to Governor Seymour's Adjutant.

(By Telegraph.)

WASHINGTON, June 21, 1863.

To Acting Assistant Adjutant General Stonehouse:

The President desires Governor Seymour to forward to Baltimore all the militia regiments that he can raise.

EDWIN M. STANTON, Sec. of War.

The Governor of Pennsylvania to Gov. Seymour.

(By Telegraph.)

HARRISBURG, July 2, 1863.

To His Excellency Governor Seymour:

Send forward more troops as rapidly as possible. Every hour increases the necessity for large forces to protect Pennsylvania. The battles of yesterday were not decisive, and if Meade should be defeated, unless we have a large army, this State will be overrun by the rebels.

A. G. CURTIN,
Governor of Pennsylvania.

Governor Seymour's Adjutant to the Governor of Pennsylvania.

NEW YORK, July 3, 1863.

To Governor Curtin, Harrisburg, Pa.:

Your telegram is received. Troops will continue to be sent. One regiment leaves to-day, another to-morrow, all in good pluck.

JOHN T. SPRAGUE,
Adjutant General.

Secretary Stanton to Governor Seymour.

WAR DEPARTMENT,
WASHINGTON, June 27, 1863. }

DEAR SIR: I cannot forbear expressing to you the deep obligation I feel for THE PROMPT AND CANDID SUPPORT YOU HAVE GIVEN TO THE GOVERNMENT IN THE PRESENT EMERGENCY. THE ENERGY, ACTIVITY, AND PATRIOTISM YOU HAVE EXHIBITED I MAY BE PERMITTED PERSONALLY AND OFFI-

CIALLY TO ACKNOWLEDGE, *without arrogating any personal claims on my part to such service, or to any service whatever.*

I shall be happy always to be esteemed your friend. EDWIN M. STANTON.

To His Excellency, HORATIO SEYMOUR.

If, in view of this record and this meed of praise to Governor Seymour from Abraham Lincoln and Edwin M. Stanton, there be those who give heed to his slanderers, it were useless to reason with them. To the candid, fair-minded citizen, however, these documents must be conclusive that the nation owes much to Governor Seymour as one of its chief saviors in the hour of its greatest peril.

Resolutions of the New York Legislature.

The New York Republican Legislature, April 16, 1864, passed, unanimously, the following resolutions:

Resolved, That the thanks of this House be, and are hereby, tendered to his Excellency, Governor Seymour, for calling the attention of the General Government at Washington to the errors in the apportionment of the quota of this State, under the enrollment act of March 3, 1863, and for his prompt and efficient efforts in procuring a correction of the same.

Resolved, That the Clerk of this House transmit to the Governor a copy of this report and resolutions.

The "errors in the apportionment of the quota" of New York (for calling the attention of the General Government to to which, Horatio Seymour was given this vote of thanks by the "Republican" Legislature of that State, *after the New York riots had occurred*) not having been corrected by Provost Marshal General Fry, caused

The Riots in New York.

On the occasion of the riots, Governor Seymour was called to the city of New York to quell them, and he did so. All must remember his two proclamations on that occasion:

FIRST PROCLAMATION OF GOV. SEYMOUR.
To the People of the City of New York:

A riotous demonstration in your city, originating in opposition to the conscription of soldiers for the military service of the United States, has swelled into vast

proportions, directing its fury against the property and lives of peaceful citizens. I know that many of those who have participated in these proceedings would not have allowed themselves to be carried to such extremes of violence and of wrong, except under an apprehension of injustice; but such persons are reminded that the only opposition to the conscription which can be allowed is an appeal to the courts.

The right of every citizen to make such an appeal will be maintained, and the decision of the courts must be respected and obeyed by rulers and people alike. No other course is consistent with the maintainance of the laws, the peace and order of the city, and the safety of its inhabitants.

Riotous proceedings must and shall be put down. The laws of the State must be enforced, its peace and order maintained, and the lives and property of all citizens protected at any and every hazard. The rights of every citizen will be properly guarded and defended by the Chief Magistrate of the State.

I do, therefore, call upon all persons engaged in these riotous proceedings to retire to their homes and employments, declaring that unless they do so at once I shall use all the power necessary to restore the peace and order of the city. I also call upon all well-disposed persons, not enrolled for the preservation of order, to pursue their ordinary avocations.

Let all citizens stand firmly by the constitutional authorities, sustaining law and order in the city, ready to answer any such demand as circumstances may render necessary for me to make upon their services, and they may rely upon a rigid enforcement of the laws of this State against all who violate them.

HORATIO SEYMOUR, Governor.

SECOND PROCLAMATION OF GOVERNOR SEYMOUR.

WHEREAS, It is manifest that combinations for forcible resistance to the laws of the State of New York, and the execution of civil and criminal process, exist in the city and county of New York, whereby the peace and safety of the city and the lives and property of its inhabitants are endangered; and

Whereas, The power of the said city and county has been exerted, and is not sufficient to enable the officers of the said city and county to maintain the laws of the State and execute the legal process of its officers; and

Whereas, Application has been made to me by the Sheriff of the city and county of New York to declare the said

city and county to be in a state of insurrection; now, therefore,

I, Horatio Seymour, Governor of the State of New York, and Commander-in-Chief of the forces of the same, do, in its name and by its authority, issue this proclamation in accordance with the statute in such cases made and provided, and do hereby declare the city and county of New York to be in a state of insurrection, and give notice to all persons that the means provided by the laws of this State for the maintenance of law and order will be employed to whatever degree may be necessary, and that all persons who shall, after the publication of this proclamation, resist, or aid or assist in resisting, any force ordered out by the Governor to quell or suppress such insurrection, will render themselves liable to the penalties prescribed by law.

HORATIO SEYMOUR.

Speech of Hon. George Opdyke.

During the New York riots of 1863, Hon. George Opdyke, one of the most eminent of the Republican leaders in New York, was Mayor of the city. In the late Constitutional Convention in that State he was a member, elected at large by the Republican party. During the discussion upon the questions pertaining to the government of the city of New York, the matter of the riots was lugged in. We quote the official proceedings:

Mr. Opdyke. Governor Seymour arrived on Thursday morning, and came to my rooms at the St. Nicholas Hotel, where he remained with me during the entire riots, except that soon after his arrival he accompanied me to the City Hall, where it was not possible for us to accomplish any good, *as the riots were going on in the upper part of the city*, and most of all the murders and devastations of property were in that part of the city. But many evil disposed persons had gathered about the City Hall, and the newspaper offices were threatened. My friend from Kings (Mr. Schumaker) could not have extended his views very far from the steps of the City Hall, or he would not have stated that the mob were so peaceably disposed. He might have seen by extending his vision many scenes like this: peaceable colored men crossing the Park or walking along the streets attacked by crowds of assailants, and fleeing for their lives.

Mr. Schumaker. I only spoke of the time when Governor Seymour was there,

Mr. Opdyke. Perhaps at that very moment there might not have been anything of that kind. But immediately after he was there those scenes did transpire, and on the same day a newspaper office fronting the City hall was attacked. I now come to the point of my advising the Governor to address the crowd. I shook my head when my friend from Kings [Mr. Schumaker] made the remark. And, on reflection, while *I have not the slightest doubt that I concurred in recommending it*, I am quite sure that others suggested that he should address the crowd. My colleague, [Mr. Hutchins,] who was present, now informs me that my recollection was correct. But the terms in which he should address them, or what words of endearment he should use, [laughter,] I certainly had nothing to do in suggesting; nor had I any share in framing the speech he made to them. He left very soon after, in a carriage with some friends, to go where the riots were taking place, and then returned to the St. Nicholas Hotel, where he remained during the riots. It was not until the military under General Brown, who was second in command to General Wool, was united to the police force, that they succeeded in withstanding and repelling the rioters, who outnumbered, ten to one, the organized force against them. I also urged the Police Commissioners to arm their force. They said they would not do so without the sanction of the Governor. I offered to take the responsibility of making the requisition for the arms and furnish them. But they declined it.

When Governor Seymour arrived he very cheerfully and promptly acquiesced in the suggestion, and gave requisitions for arms, which were taken to the Police Headquarters; but as the military strength was increasing, it turned out there was no occasion for the police to use them, though they could have been used very effectively at an earlier stage of the riot. I mean to be entirely just to Governor Seymour in regard to his conduct during the continuance of the riots, though he has not been just to me. Prior to the riot he made a serious misrepresentation of my official conduct in a message to the Legislature, of which I asked a public retraction. He very frankly and promptly gave a verbal retraction, with a promise of giving one for publication. After patiently waiting week after week, and month after month, during which time that promise was more than once renewed but never performed, I abandoned the effort. It has never

been performed. But I have this to say of Governor Seymour: He was surrounded during the riot by many bad advisers—scores of them—on some occasions I think there were one hundred in my room—most of them urging him to exert his influence to withdraw the military resistance to the rioters, and to endeavor to quiet them by moral suasion.

In opposition to them, *nearly every city official, all of whom, except myself, were Democrats, earnestly counselled otherwise, and indignantly condemned the advice that he was receiving from his more numerous friends. And while I thought, sometimes, he was vacillating, and disposed to interfere in a manner which, in my judgment, would be disastrous to the best interests of the city, it turned out that my apprehensions were unfounded. He never yielded to these bad counsels, but TO THE END STOOD FIRM, EVERYTHING THAT IT WAS POSSIBLE FOR HIM TO DO WAS DONE, TO AID IN THE SUPPRESSION OF THE RIOTS.* At my instance he gave requisitions for arms to scores, and even to hundreds of private citizens, whose warehouses or dwellings were threatened. *He did not hesitate in a single instance, whenever I vouched for the respectability of the applicant for arms.* On one occasion, I think it was Wednesday afternoon, a conference was to be held among the officials at police headquarters to determine on the line of action and defense during the afternoon and evening. My friend, Mr Hutchins, was there at the time, and will confirm the truth of what I say.

Governor Seymour came in with at least twenty of his political and personal friends, and among them several gentlemen who were very much excited, because, as they declared, the troops under the command of General Brown, in the Twentieth ward, were shooting down

innocent and peaceable citizens, who had congregated from mere curiosity, under the excitement that was existing, and that they were not rioters at all. General Brown asked if they had not been firing buildings and barricading the streets. They answered in the affirmative, but said it was in self-defense. The General replied that if this was not rioting, he did not know what was. These gentlemen urged that Governor Seymour should recall the troops, and they pledged themselves that they would disperse the crowd by peaceable means and by moral suasion. The friends of Governor Seymour were urgent that he should exercise his military authority as Governor of this State and commander in chief, to make General Brown withdraw his troops. The Governor very properly felt, I have no doubt, that he had no authority to interfere—at all events, he did not interfere.

The Police Commissioners also joined in urging General Brown to withdraw his troops. I was the only one to counsel General Brown to turn a deaf ear to any such advice, because all history proves that the only way to put down a riot as formidable in its proportions as this, was to shoot it down. He replied with several expletives, which I will not repeat, that I need not give myself any uneasiness; that whatever the Governor, or any friend of his, or any one else might say, no troops under his command should ever retire before a mob unless driven back. That spirit and determination of General Brown had much to do in inspiring all in authority to aid in resisting the force of the rioters and in putting them down. *Though on many occasions Governor Seymour was advised to interfere, he never did interfere, AND HIS CONDUCT DURING THOSE RIOTS MET MY ENTIRE APPROVAL.*

PENNSYLVANIA'S SHARE OF THE PUBLIC DEBT.

**Each County's Share and the Yearly
Interest Thereon.**

AN INTERESTING TABLE FOR TAX-PAYERS.

As is well known, it is admitted by statisticians of all parties, that the debt of the United States is, at present, at least \$3,000,000,000. Some persons, Thaddeus Stevens among the number, put it above these figures. Pennsylvania's share of the \$3,000,000,000, is estimated at *one-sixth* of the whole, or \$500,000,000. Upon this basis, the fairness of which will not be disputed, the following table has been calculated:

COUNTIES.	Each county's share of the principal of the public debt.....	Each county's share of the interest of the public debt yearly.....
Adams	\$4,817,032	\$289,021 92
Allegheny.....	30,741,632	1,844,197 92
Armstrong	6,157,084	369,425 04
Beaver.....	5,012,080	300,724 80
Bedford	4,598,592	275,915 52
Berks	16,136,696	968,201 76
Blair	4,786,588	287,195 28
Bradford.....	8,283,241	406,906 28
Bucks	10,935,416	656,724 96
Butler	6,122,168	367,330 08
Cambria	5,014,680	300,879 60
Carbon.....	3,617,676	217,060 56
Chester.....	12,826,516	769,590 96
Centre	4,644,000	278,640 00
Clarion	4,297,936	257,876 16
Clinton	3,048,356	182,901 36
Clearfield.....	3,236,548	194,192 88
Columbia.....	4,311,180	258,670 80
Crawford.....	6,989,300	419,358 00
Cumberland.....	6,896,856	413,811 36
Dauphin	8,072,032	484,321 92
Delaware	5,262,984	315,779 04
Erie	8,503,204	510,192 24
Elk	1,017,380	61,042 80
Fayette	6,864,348	411,800 88
Franklin	7,215,672	434,740 32
Fulton.....	1,570,532	94,231 92
Forrest	153,456	9,507 36
Greene.....	4,186,909	251,219 76
Hantington	4,833,200	289,992 00
Indiana	5,794,664	347,679 84
Jefferson.....	3,142,440	188,546 40
Juniata.....	2,921,592	175,292 52
Lancaster.....	20,006,008	1,200,360 48

Lawrence.....	3,055,828	237,349 68
Lebanon.....	5,174,932	328,495 92
Lehigh.....	7,525,516	461,630 96
Luzerne.....	15,511,968	930,718 08
Lycoming.....	6,432,628	385,957 68
Mercer.....	6,339,232	380,353 92
M'Kean	1,423,648	85,408 88
Miffln	2,810,480	168,628 80
Monroe.....	2,882,376	172,942 56
Montgomery.....	12,116,000	726,960 00
Montour.....	2,245,116	134,706 96
Northampton.....	8,239,488	494,869 28
Northumberland.....	4,986,624	299,197 44
Perry.....	3,920,796	235,247 76
Philadelphia.....	97,270,988	5,836,259 28
Pike	1,230,660	73,839 60
Potter	1,972,840	118,370 40
Schuylkill.....	15,395,720	923,743 20
Snyder.....	2,586,020	155,161 20
Somerset.....	4,605,818	276,349 08
Sullivan.....	969,564	58,173 84
Susquehanna.....	4,237,924	374,275 44
Tioga.....	5,339,568	320,374 08
Union	2,432,490	145,067 40
Venango.....	4,307,396	258,443 76
Warren.....	3,300,680	198,040 80
Washington.....	8,294,460	497,667 60
Wayne.....	5,545,108	332,706 48
Westmoreland.....	9,242,592	554,555 52
Wyoming.....	2,156,880	129,412 80
York.....	11,730,400	703,824 00

It should be remembered that this does not include pensions, bounties, and debts of a similar description. Is it not amazing to contemplate the sums which are gathered from the people, year after year, simply to pay the interest on this debt? People often complain of their county and State taxes, but in hardly any county in the Commonwealth do these amount to one-tenth of the interest actually paid on the public debt each year by the people of such county. It is true this interest is not all collected from the people by a direct tax; that part of it which is not so collected *is raised by duties on articles of meat, drink and apparel, which are invariably paid by the consumer.* Hence the high prices of the necessaries of life, and "the grinding of the faces of the poor." And this interest, mark you, must be paid *in gold*, which adds 40 cents to every dollar of it. This is a subject worthy the attention of every man, for if this land of ours is ever again to be one of prosperity, this load must be lifted from the shoulder of the people.





